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## NATIONAL NEWS SPECIAL REPORTS

# The Nexus Of Covert Foreign Interference Attempt In India's 2024 Lok Sabha Elections

June 5, 2024 / The Commune

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DisInfo Lab, an online media and non-profit entities watchdog, has exposed a coordinated effort by foreign actors to clandestinely influence the outcome of the 2024 Indian election. Through a series of revelations, it has alleged that millions of dollars have been funneled from nations such as China to Israel with the aim of impacting the election results. Of particular concern is the involvement of Western powers, including the European Union and the United States.

The 2024 elections witnessed unprecedented levels of foreign interference, with foreign media coverage overwhelmingly negative and blatantly biased. Western media outlets employed exaggerated language and double standards, injecting a predetermined narrative into online discourse akin to a competitive mud-slinging contest.

For instance, the BBC published articles with titles like "*AI and deepfakes blur reality in Indian elections*" and "*Lok Sabha 2024: Modi's party volunteers targeting 100,000 people a day*," while also accusing Modi's party of demonizing Muslims in videos. Al Jazeera, funded by the Qatari government, ran stories such as "*Deepfake democracy: Behind the AI trickery shaping India's 2024 election*" and "*Vote Jihad: As Modi raised Anti-Muslim India election pitch, what's next?*" Meanwhile,

**BBC**

### AI and deepfakes blur reality in India elections

16 May 2024  
By Meryl Sebastian, BBC News, Kochi

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Want an opponent to campaign for you? Confuse voters between a real and a fake video? As India prepares for the world's largest elections, parties are turning to AI for novel – and dangerous – strategies.

**ALJAZEERA** News - Israel War on Gaza Features Opinion Sport v

### Deepfake democracy: Behind the AI trickery shaping India's 2024 election

Want an opponent to campaign for you? Confuse voters between a real and a fake video? As India prepares for the world's largest elections, parties are turning to AI for novel – and dangerous – strategies.

A Small Army Combating a Flood of Deepfakes in India's Election

Social media is awash with AI-altered audio, clipped video and manipulated images. Fact-checkers want to save the public from deception.

**The New York Times** India's General Election The Latest What to Know Why the Vote Takes So Long Combating De

### A Small Army Combating a Flood of Deepfakes in India's Election

Social media is awash with AI-altered audio, clipped video and manipulated images. Fact-checkers want to save the public from deception.

Listen to this article 8:24 AM UTC Share this article Print

GENERATED BY AI

India Deepfakes of Bollywood stars spark worries of AI meddling in India election

By Aditya Kala, Munsif Vengattil and Dhwani Pandya April 22, 2024 10:04 AM GMT +5:30 Updated a month ago

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**BBC**

### Lok Sabha 2024: Modi's party volunteers targeting 100,000 people a day

6 days ago By Yogita Limaye, Shruti Menon & Jack Goodman, BBC News

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Modi's party volunteers targeting 100,000 people a day

**THE WIRE** HOME ELECTIONS 2024 POLITICS ECONOMY WORLD SECURITY LAI

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### One-Step Forwards, Two Steps Back: WhatsApp's Use in Indian Elections

Divij Joshi May 2024 f i n r Save

WhatsApp and other closed messaging platforms have proven to be a popular channel to circulate disinformation and hate speech with a view to gaining electoral advantage.

**FINANCIAL TIMES**

### The Big Read Indian election + Add to myFT

### India: the WhatsApp election

It is the most influential social media platform in many parts of the world – it could also shape the country's political future

X f in Save

Madhumita Murgia in London, Stephanie Findlay in New Delhi and Andres Schipani in São Paulo MAY 5 2019

**Columbia Journalism Review.**

**TOW CENTER**

### India had its first 'WhatsApp election.' We have a million messages from it

OCTOBER 16, 2019 BY PRIYANJANA BENGANI

**BBC**

### India election: Modi's party accused of demonising Muslims in video

7 May 2024 By Meryl Sebastian, BBC News, Kochi

Share < Screenshot

Once a fringe Indian ideology, Hindu nationalism is now mainstream, thanks to Modi's decade in power

**ALJAZEERA** News | India Election 2024

### 'Vote jihad': As Modi raises anti-Muslim India election pitch, what's next?

As the campaign targeting of Muslims becomes more direct and shrill, experts fear Modi's words could encourage violence against the community.

Modi's anti-Muslim 'Vote Jihad' rhetoric faces severe criticism

May 12, 2024 11:53 AM By Shaikh Azimur Rahman

**VOA** SOUTH & CENTRAL ASIA

### India's Modi calls rivals pro-Muslim as election campaign changes tack

By YP Rajesh and Rupam Jain April 23, 2024 4:34 PM GMT +5:30 Updated a month ago

**AP**

### Once a fringe Indian ideology, Hindu nationalism is now mainstream, thanks to Modi's decade in power

WORLD NEWS

Trump guilty verdict Israel-Hamas war Mexico election D-Day Ohio shooting

**LA CROIX INTERNATIONAL** EN

### News / World news

### Indian elections: the worrying rise of Hindu nationalism

Since coming to power in 2014, Narendra Modi and his political party have been imposing a vision of India steeped in Hindu nationalism.

By Pierre Sautreuil (in New Delhi)

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

### The End of Secular India

Modi's Quest to Entrench Hindu Nationalism

By Harrold Singh Bal April 12, 2024

**The Guardian**

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### Today in Focus

### How an Indian state became a testing ground for Hindu nationalism

Certain media outlets received implicit or explicit funding, while others were backed by organizations with questionable agendas, such as crafting biased narratives sourced from dubious origins like “*random WhatsApp groups*” or portraying individuals supported by Pakistan in a positive light. Amidst this cacophony, a disturbing effort to interfere at the micro level and shape voter perceptions was underway. Christophe Jaffrelot, an Indologist writes extensively on India, emerged as a key figure orchestrating this narrative, particularly promoting a divisive discourse around the caste census, originating from France.

**En Inde, l'islamophobie gagne la campagne électorale**

Le premier tour des législatives, lors d'un meeting pour les élections législatives, à Guwahati, dans l'Assam, les musulmans « d'ailleurs » faisant « le plus d'efforts ». 

Par Sophie Laroche (Envoyée spéciale correspondante)

Publié le 03 avril 2019 à 10H20, modifié le 03 avril 2019 à 10H23 — Lecture 3 min.

**Ajouter à mes sélections** 

**Partager**         

**Article réservé aux abonnés**

**« En Inde, les élections générales se distinguent cette année par leur caractère non démocratique »**

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**CHRISTOPHE JAFFREZIC**  
Journaliste

Alors qu'il mène la campagne pour les élections législatives débuté le 10 avril, Christophe Jaffrezi, spécialiste de ce pays, estime dans une tribune au *Monde* que la première ministre sortante Narendra Modi réduit la démonstration à un autoritarisme électoral.

Publié le 14 avril 2014 à 10:45, mis à jour le 14 avril 2014 à 10:45 par Lorraine Ewen - Read by English

**En Inde, le culte de Narendra Modi, principal argument de la campagne du parti BJP**

Le Parti du peuple indien espère remporter pour la troisième fois d'affilée les législatives, qui prendront fin le 1<sup>er</sup> juillet. Si l'appui sur la popularité du premier ministre Narendra Modi est un atout pour les élus du parti, il reste très équilibré quant à son programme.

Par Sophie Lévy pour *Le Monde*, correspondante  
Publié le vendredi 10 juillet 2015 à 17:00 Mis à jour le vendredi 10 juillet 2015 à 18:00

En Inde

**Ajouter une sélection**

**Accéder au menu des documents**

A screenshot of the Mediapart website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the Mediapart logo, a search bar, and a login button. Below the header, there are two main sections: "Actualités" and "Vidéos". The main content area features a large, bold headline: "Élections en Inde : l'opposition dénonce une dictature, Modi mise sur sa statuté". Below the headline, there is a summary of the article followed by a call-to-action button: "Lire l'article".

A screenshot of a French news website, Le Monde Diplomatique. The top navigation bar includes links for 'Accueil', 'Politique', 'Monde', 'Culture', 'Economie', 'Société', 'Opinions', 'Dossiers', and 'Archives'. Below the navigation is a search bar and a login link. The main headline reads 'Narendra Modi, une autre idée de la démocratie' by Catherine Jarrett. The text discusses Modi's policies and compares them to the Indian model of democracy. At the bottom of the page, there is a footer with links to 'Le Monde diplomatique', 'Facebook', 'Twitter', and 'RSS'.

The image shows the front cover of a book. The title 'Modi's Strategy, Rise, and Rule' is at the top in a large serif font. Below it, 'FROM GUJARAT TO THE INDIAN NATION STATE' is written in a smaller sans-serif font. At the bottom, 'INTERVIEW WITH CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT' is printed. The background of the cover features a dark blue gradient with a faint map of India and some abstract white shapes.

**« Le risque avec Narendra Modi, c'est une forme d'impunité du pouvoir, un autoritarisme croissant »**

Le retour au pouvoir de Narendra Modi, en fin de saison, affirme le politologue. En cas de réélection, il exacerbera à base un projet d'un nouvel hindouisme, une nation batte par les hindous et pour les hindous.

Propos recueillis par Camille Dherbier (Bours. Delta), correspondante et Stephen Lovell (Routledge). Publié le 10 juillet 2014 à 18H05 | Lecture : 1 min | Partager | English

Ajouter à vos sélections

 Article réservé aux abonnés

**En Inde, le désenchantement de la jeunesse diplômée**

Plus d'un quart d'adultes diplômés de moins de 25 ans sont au chômage, et ainsi force de travailler de manière occasionnelle et informelle. La faute, notamment, à la rareté des offres d'emploi, comme par exemple une conséquence de la politique du premier ministre, Narendra Modi.

Par Sophie Landry (New Delhi, correspondante)

Publié le 14 mai 2014 à 05H00, modifié le 14 mai 2014 à 05H04. [Les commentaires](#)

[Partager](#) [Imprimer](#)

**Inde: nouvelle phase des élections dans des États plutôt favorables aux nationalistes du BJP**

Les plus grandes élections du monde battent leur plein en Inde 5 mois à suivre la troisième phase des législatives, entre le 19 mai et qui prendront fin le 1er juin. Plus de 150 millions d'électeurs sont appelés aux urnes pour élire leurs députés. Narendra Modi, le Premier ministre, qui vise un deuxième mandat, a voté ce matin.

A screenshot of a French news website, Le Monde, featuring an article titled "En Inde, Narendra Modi met en œuvre une loi sur la citoyenneté stigmatisante pour les musulmans". The page includes a navigation bar with links like "Accueil", "Politique", "Monde", "Société", "Culture", "Economie", "Technologie", "Sport", "Opinion", "International", and "Vidéo". There are also buttons for "Se connecter" and "Connexion". The main content area has a large image of Narendra Modi and a summary of the article.

**Cinquième phase des élections nationales en Inde: Bombay et l'Uttar Pradesh scrutés de près**

Des dizaines de millions d'indiens sont appelés à élire leurs députés ce vendredi 20 mai. Parmi les circonscriptions qui seront surveillées de près, deux grands États: le Maharashtra, qui entoure la ville de Bombay, et le parti du Congrès, principalement au pouvoir à Mumbai, mais, tout regarde sur lui!

PARIS (JOURNAL DE FRANCE) - PARIS, MUMBAI ET NEW YORK - 18/05/2004

**Élections en Inde : le plus grand scrutin du monde, terrain de jeu de l'IA**

Analyste. Lors de ce scrutin d'un mois et demi, le gouvernement indien a engagé une bataille pour la victoire dans les élections générales par laquelle il défendra la partie populaire. Mais dans les années grosses de la Covid, l'IA offre aussi la promesse alléchante de démultiplier la puissance des partis.

**Quel impact pour les élections à New Delhi, le 9 mai prochain ?**

Sur le plan électoral, l'IA va faciliter la collecte et la analyse des données. Les partis politiques ont accès à de nombreuses sources d'informations, mais elles sont souvent fragmentées et difficiles à intégrer. L'IA peut aider à identifier les tendances et les motifs sous-jacents dans ces données, ce qui peut aider les partis à mieux comprendre les préférences des électeurs et à ajuster leur stratégie de campagne. Par exemple, l'IA peut aider à prédire les résultats des élections en fonction des facteurs tels que l'économie, la sécurité nationale et les questions sociales.

Sur le plan de la communication, l'IA peut aider les partis politiques à créer des messages plus ciblés et plus pertinents pour les électeurs. Les plateformes de médias sociaux sont devenues un moyen important pour les partis politiques de communiquer avec les électeurs. L'IA peut aider à analyser les interactions sur ces plateformes et à recommander des stratégies de communication plus efficaces. Par exemple, l'IA peut aider à identifier les sujets qui suscitent le plus d'intérêt chez les électeurs et à recommander des messages qui correspondent à ces sujets.

Sur le plan de la gestion des opérations, l'IA peut aider les partis politiques à optimiser leurs opérations. Les élections sont un processus complexe qui nécessite une coordination entre de nombreux bureaux et des milliers d'agents. L'IA peut aider à automatiser certaines tâches et à optimiser les processus pour réduire les erreurs et les délais. Par exemple, l'IA peut aider à gérer la logistique des bureaux de vote, à optimiser la distribution des bulletins de vote et à assurer la sécurité des bureaux de vote.

Sur le plan de la sécurité, l'IA peut aider à détecter les menaces et à protéger les électeurs. Les élections sont une cible privilégiée pour les groupes terroristes et les cybercriminels. L'IA peut aider à détecter les menaces et à protéger les électeurs en analysant les données de sécurité et en recommandant des mesures de sécurité supplémentaires. Par exemple, l'IA peut aider à détecter les tentatives d'attaque contre les bureaux de vote ou les agents électoraux et à recommander des mesures de sécurité pour empêcher ces attaques.

En conclusion, l'IA offre de nombreuses opportunités pour les partis politiques de l'Inde lors des prochaines élections. Cependant, il est également important de se rappeler que l'IA doit être utilisée de manière responsable et éthique pour éviter les abus et les malentendus. Les partis politiques doivent veiller à ce que l'IA ne soit pas utilisée pour manipuler les électeurs ou pour déstabiliser le système politique. Il est également important de garantir que l'IA respecte la vie privée et la sécurité des électeurs.

The French media, notably LeMonde, LeSoir, France24, among others, exhibited an unusual level of interest in the Indian elections, often citing Jaffrelot as an expert on various Indian affairs.

Entrevistas - La India de Modi en el año de las grandes elecciones.

**La India de Modi en el año de las grandes elecciones, una conversación con Christophe Jaffrelot**

**CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT** — Dentro de un mes, casi mil millones de electores indios serán llamados a las urnas para unas elecciones que durarán hasta junio. ¿Se sabe ya el resultado? ¿Cuáles serán los principales temas de la campaña? ¿Qué datos se utilizarán para seguirla y qué herramientas se emplearán? ¿Cómo podría refutar a Modi?

Para seguir estas elecciones extraordinarias, hemos pedido al especialista Christophe Jaffrelot que nos ayude a coordinar una serie de publicaciones.

**"Nationalists are aiming to transform India into a Hindu State"**

— Exclusive interview with Christophe Jaffrelot, research director at Céri-Sciences Po, who analyzes how the ruling BJP party, a favorite in the upcoming Indian parliamentary elections, has instrumentalized Hinduism.

By Malo Tresca

April 16th, 2024 at 05:00 am (Europe/Rome). Updated April 16th, 2024 at 10:29 am (Europe/Rome)



India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi among his supporters at a Varanasi rally earlier this month. © Ritesh Shukla/Getty Images

The Big Read | Narendra Modi | Add to myFT

**Is the 'cult of Modi' starting to lose its lustre?**

Modi's body language, including his voice, took on a "distinctively masculine, muscular overtone" during his time as chief minister, political scientist **Christophe Jaffrelot** writes in his book *Gujarat under Modi*.

**Hindu nationalism now mainstream, thanks to Modi's decade in power**

April 19, 2024, 3:37 AM

By Associated Press

For the group, Indian civilization is inseparable from Hinduism, while critics say its philosophy is rooted in Hindu supremacy.

Today, the RSS has spawned a network of affiliated groups, from student and farmer unions to nonprofits and vigilante organizations often accused of violence. Their power — and legitimacy — ultimately comes from the BJP, which emerged from the RSS.

"Until Modi, the BJP had never won a majority on their own in India's Parliament," said **Christophe Jaffrelot**, an expert on Modi and the Hindu right. "For the RSS, it is unprecedented."



Wednesday May 22, 2024

Welcome to Global Village Source

**Modi's Dangerous Politics of Fear is threat to Future of India? Interview with Christophe Jaffrelot**

Najma Minhas, Managing Editor, GVS news, sits in with Christophe Jaffrelot to discuss World's largest elections in India

By News Desk | 21 April 2024

**Christophe Jaffrelot on What Makes Brand Modi Successful**

"Like many populists, Modi is a chameleon — this is his brand. Everyone can find in him what he or she is looking for."

By Sudha Ramachandran

April 08, 2024

**Professor Jaffrelot: India under Modi Shares Similar Patterns with Israel in Their 'Ethnic Democracies'**

May 8, 2024

**Video: Why Gujarat is key to understanding India under Modi**

Poll to Poll 2024: A year of elections around the world

19 April 2024

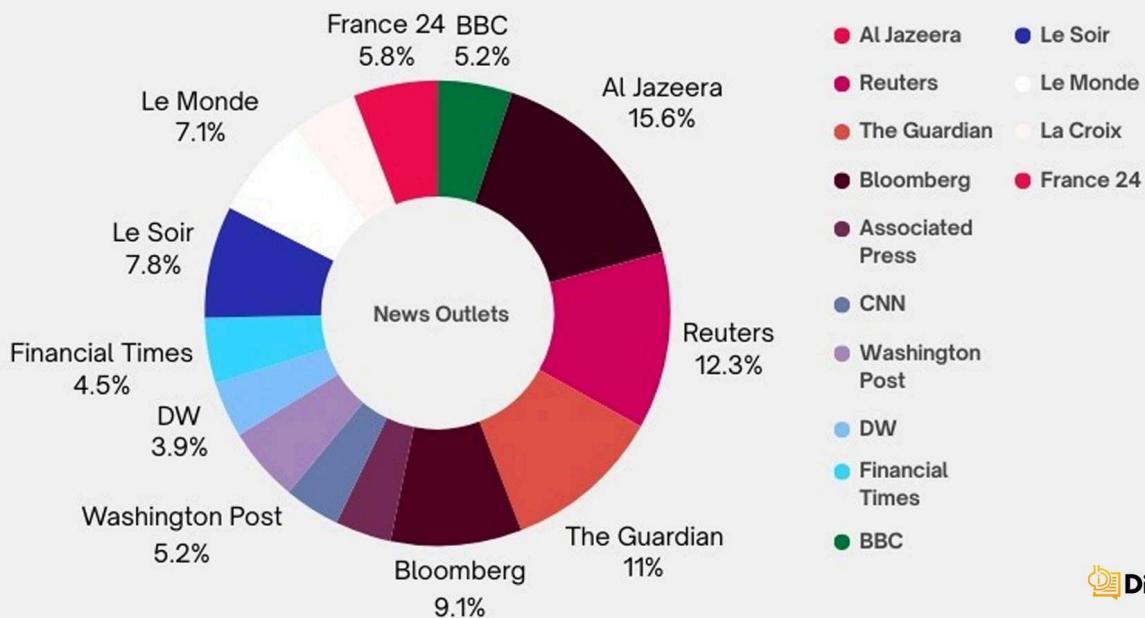
In this video as part of the Poll to Poll series, PROFESSOR **CHRISTOPHE JAFFRELOT** argues that, to understand the political strategies employed by India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi, one must look at his time as Chief Minister of the state of Gujarat.

Surprisingly, the French media showed an unusual level of interest in the Indian elections 2024 more than other medias of the world.

**What is "Hindutva," the ideology of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi?**

Hindutva thinkers developed their ideology within the context of India's fight against British colonization and the Westernization of Hindu society, and primarily centered on religious and societal claims. In a 1993 book, **Christophe Jaffrelot**, a political scientist and expert on India, explained that Hindutva "was conceived as a concept of ethnic community." According to this ideology, the Hindu community forms the "matrix" of the Indian community, while Christians and Muslims are considered mere add-ons.

# News Coverage Distribution of International Media on Indian Elections



Jaffrelot, along with his associate Gilles Verniers, operating through the Trivedi Centre for Political Data (TCPD) at Ashoka University, aggressively propagated the notion that lower castes were underrepresented in Indian politics, citing statistics from the 2014 Lok Sabha. However, their stance swiftly shifted when the 2019 Lok Sabha elections revealed an increase in representation from lower castes.



#OPINION: "New caste data that we have put together shows research and scholarship on BJP have lagged behind the party's reality," writes @nalinmehta



From news18.com

5:39 PM · 24/01/22 From Earth

# Nalin Mehta Writes: 5 Reasons Christophe Jaffrelot and Ashoka University Data on BJP, Caste Are Wrong

• Curated By: [Nalin Mehta](#) • Last Updated: JANUARY 24, 2022, 16:13 IST



Instead of looking at new evidence carefully and responding with reasoned evidence-based critique, respected scholars have resorted to shooting the messenger and stooping to demonstrable falsehoods.

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While the duo's difficulty in accurately categorizing castes sparks its own debate, it hasn't impacted Jaffrelot's media "credibility." His emergence as a proponent of the caste census narrative has actually led to an unprecedented level of references to him across various media outlets in a remarkably short span of time.

The case for caste census in India | Explained

Is there a relation between caste, religion, poverty and discrimination? What do the social, economic indicators show? Does this pattern extend to education and employment? Is the informal sector disproportionately populated by Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes?

October 12, 2023 10:42 pm | Updated October 14, 2023 11:02 pm IST

PRASANTH RISHI, SOUNTHDEEP RIMAJI, SAMIKAN SENGupta

**WIRE**

ANALYSIS - CASTE

Why Caste Census? The Answer Lies in Wealth Disparities, Quality of Neighbourhoods

Many are still not taken by the idea of a caste census, claiming that caste is no longer an issue and there is no correlation between caste and wealth. However, empirical evidence proves otherwise

**Business Standard**

No nationwide caste census since independence, limited...

An official nationwide caste census has not been conducted since independence numbers collected by private and government entities as part of other data collection exercises provide some insights

**DH**

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Caste census: Why's Modi hiding the X-ray results?

Feudal to Federal

Parvez Chakraborty

Last Updated: 10 October 2023, 04:40 IST

**THE ECONOMIC TIMES** News

Caste census: The long and the short of new caste data and its politics

October 10, 2023, 07:00 AM IST

**The NEWS Minute**

Why India needs Caste Census: We need to count underprivileged and the privileged

In a society that is already divided along caste lines, conducting a Caste Census could actually provide comprehensive and comparable data, which in turn can inform evidence-based policymaking.

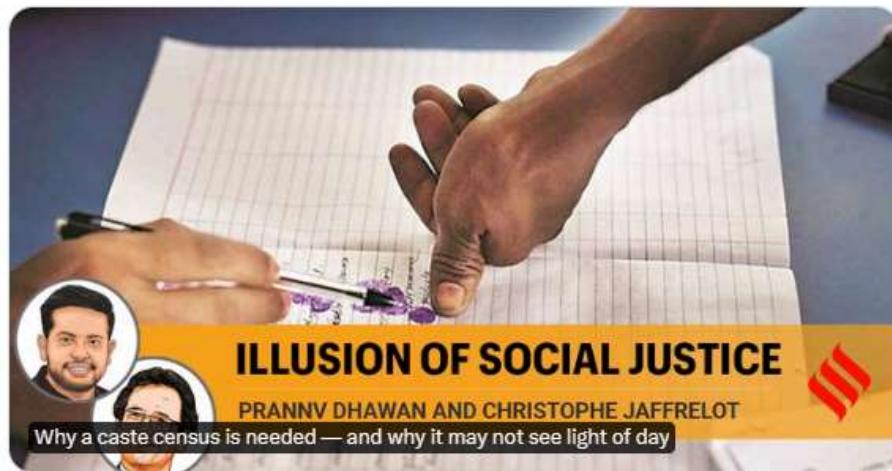
October 10, 2023, 07:00 AM IST



Jaffrelot Christophe  
@jaffrelotc

...

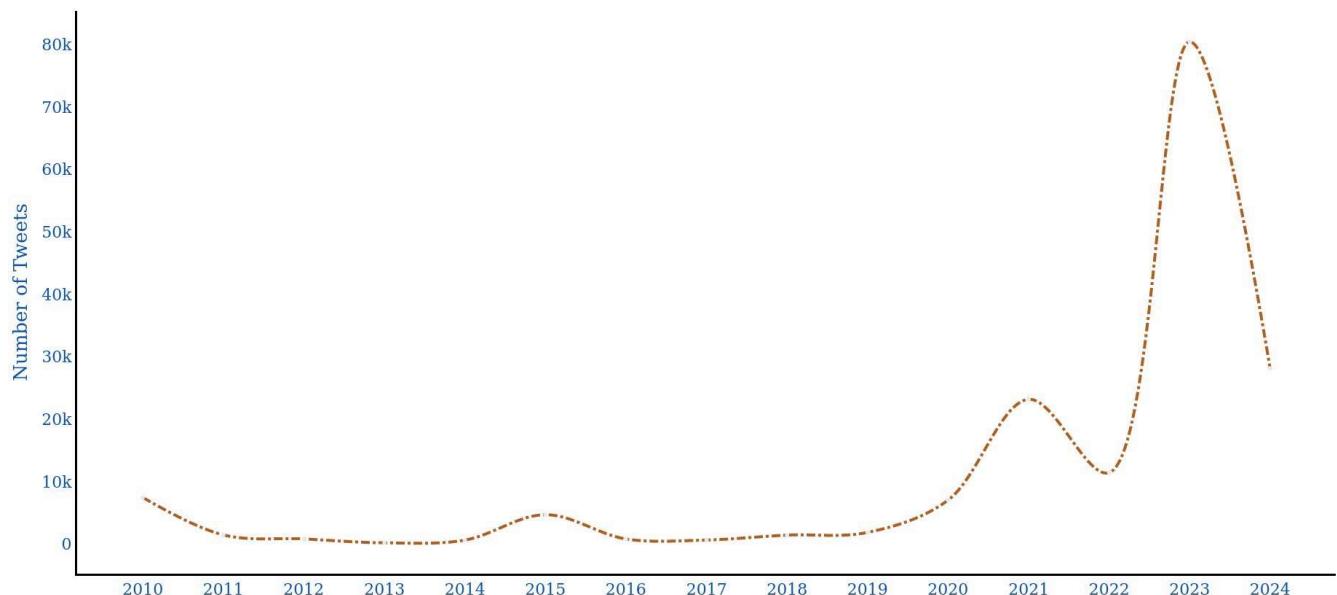
Prannv Dhawan and I show that the power that has been given again to state govts to identify OBCs may not make much difference if the 50% cap remains and if there is no caste census. [@prannv99](#) [@KingsIndiaInst](#) [@CERI\\_SciencesPo](#)

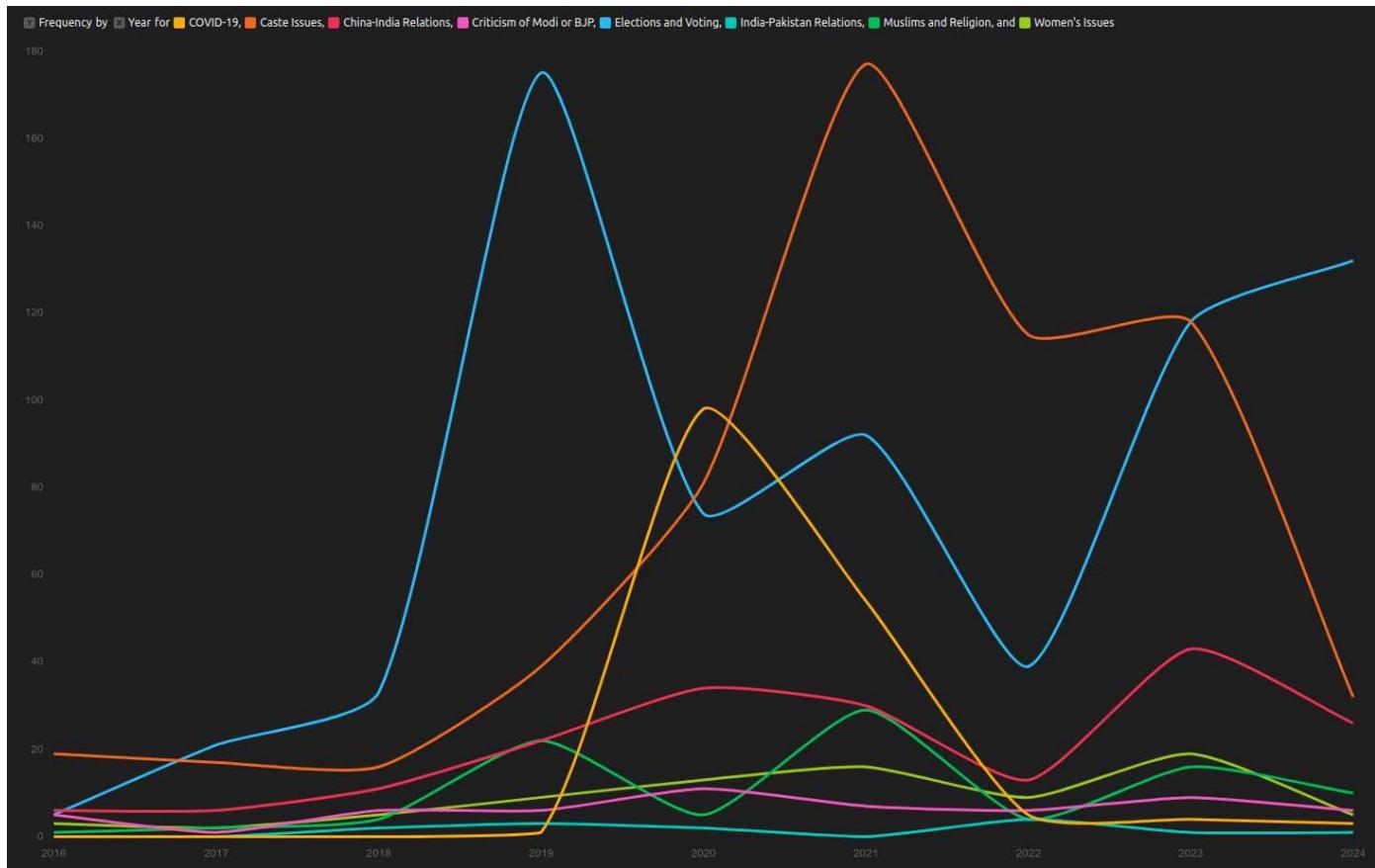


From indianexpress.com

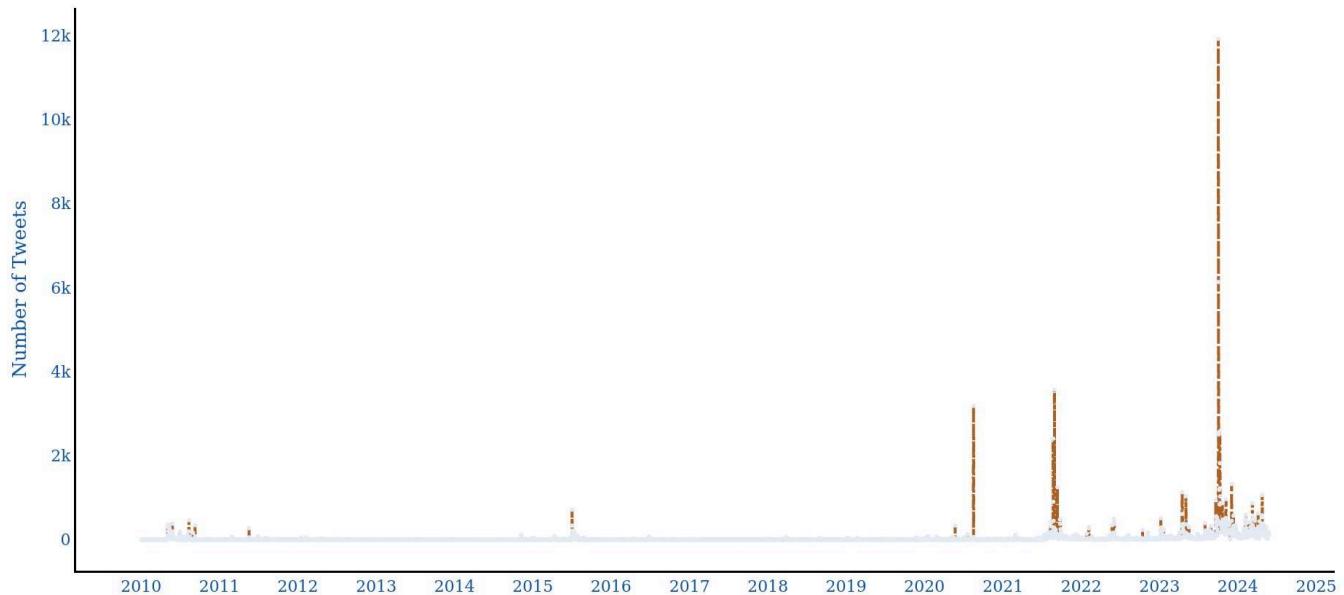
9:09 AM · Sep 4, 2021

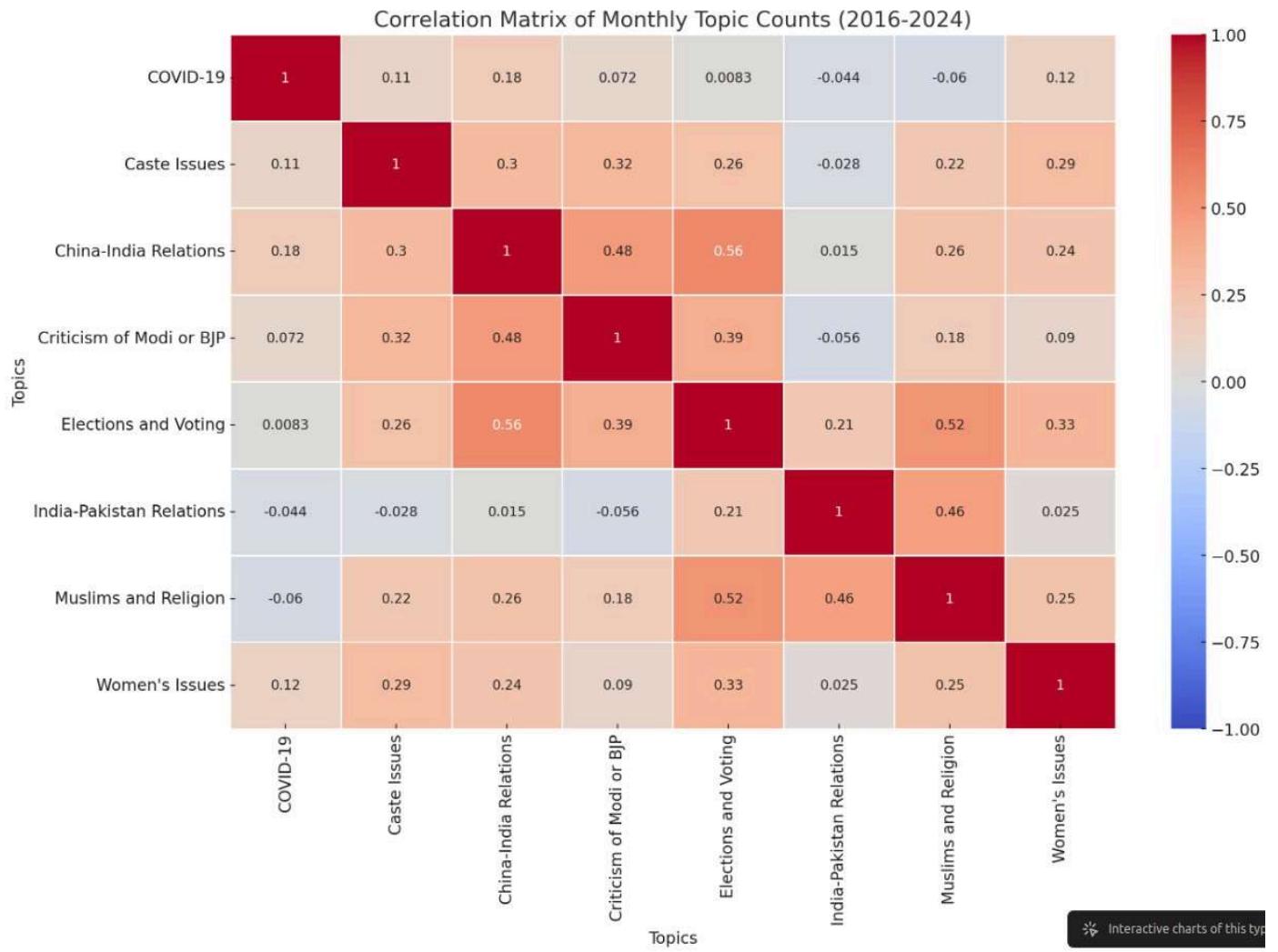
Upon delving into social media discussions, we can observe a consistent trend mirroring research findings. Mentions of Jaffrelot in relation to Caste census reached unprecedented levels. This surge coincided with Jaffrelot's publication of a paper advocating for a caste census in September 2021, suggesting a significant influence on the discourse.





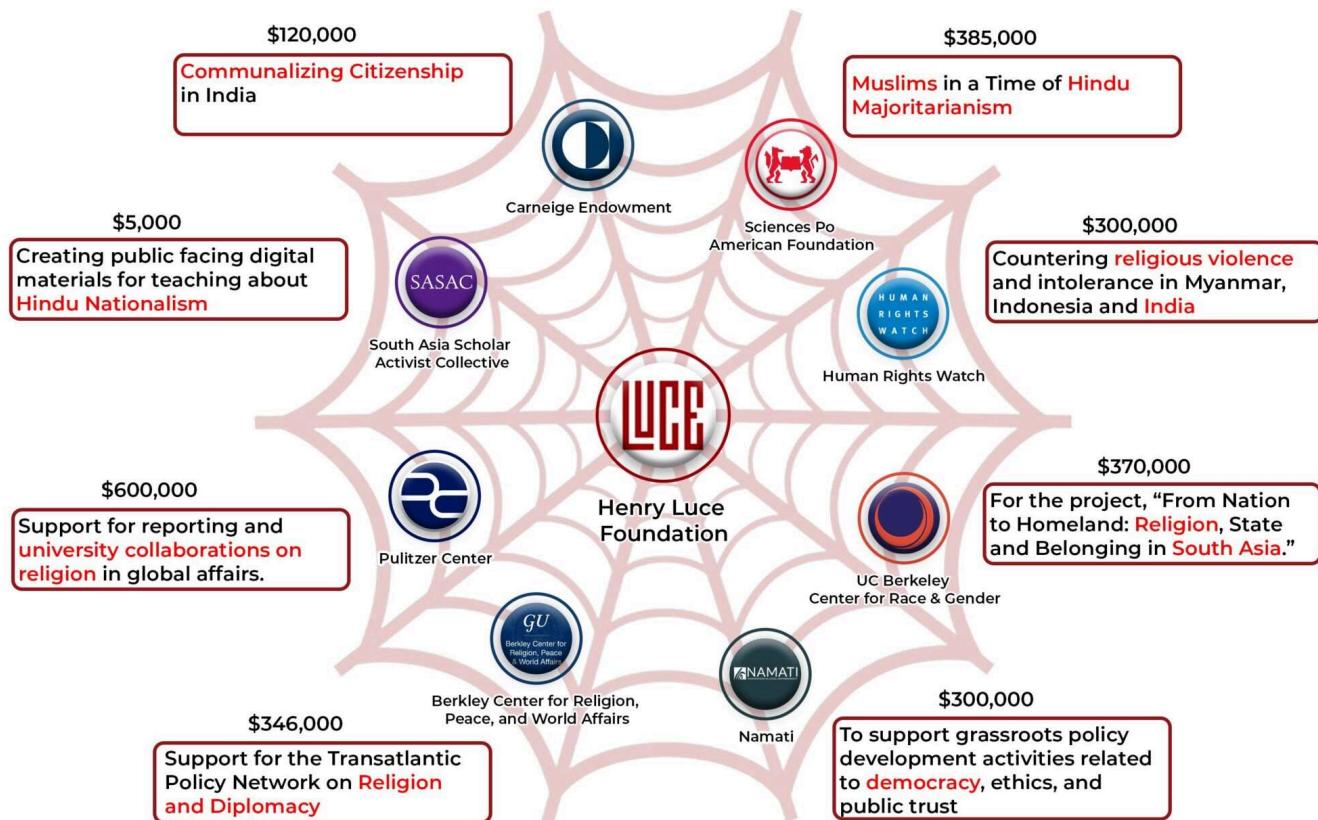
However, what was particularly noteworthy was that the conversation around Caste Census didn't arise organically, as evidenced by posting patterns. There seemed to be no inherent stimulus for these discussions, akin to observations in news media spanning from India to France. It was almost as if there was an invisible orchestrator guiding the narrative.





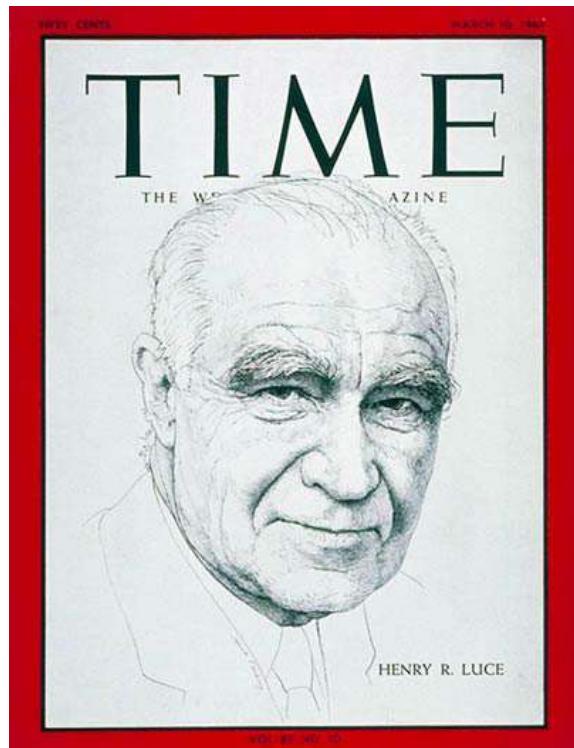
It turned out there was indeed an influential force at play, one as potent as any. Concurrent with the discourse on caste and Christophe Jaffrelot's remarkable popularity, a parallel development unfolded. Jaffrelot had secured substantial funding from the US-based philanthropic entity, the Henry Luce Foundation (HLF), during a similar timeframe.

# The Narrative Funding Web

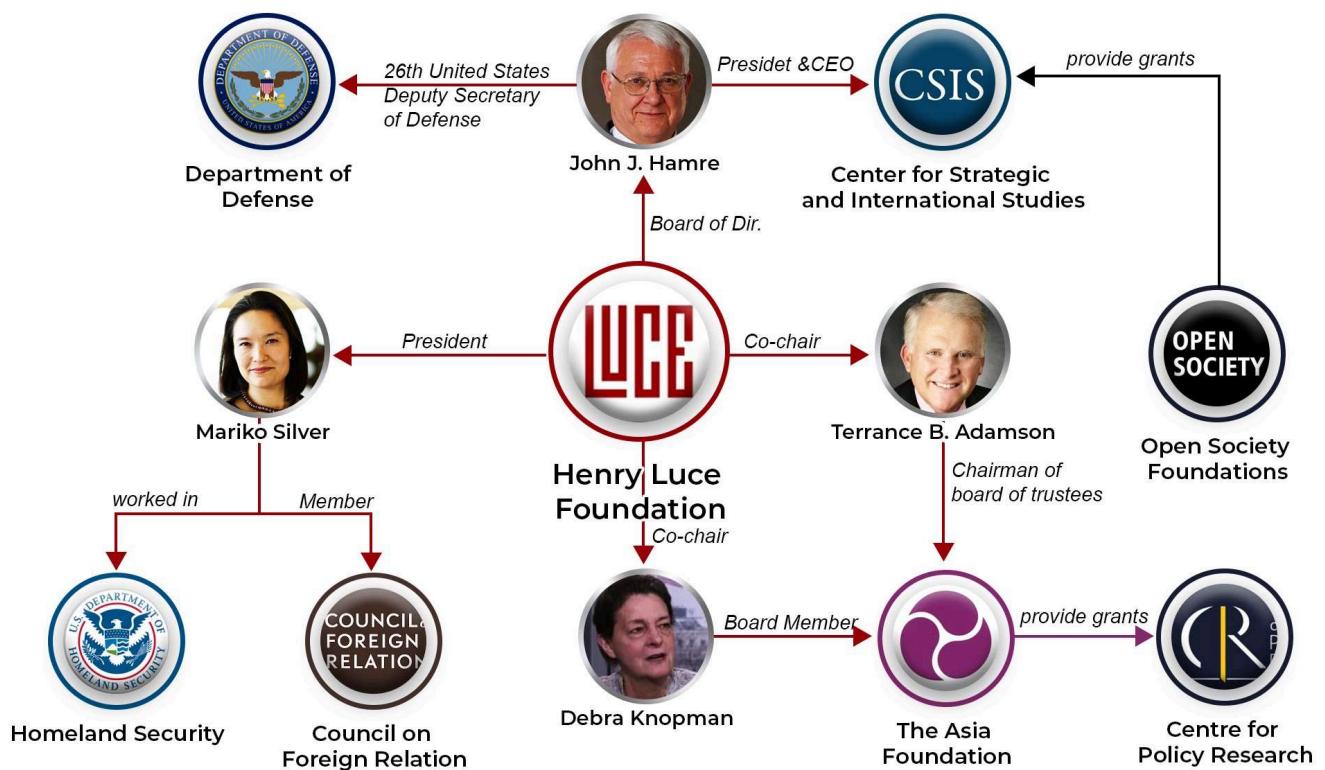


 **DisinfoLab**  
thedisinfolab.org

Henry Luce Foundation (HLF) established by Henry Luce, renowned as the founder of TIME magazine, the HLF's connections to the deep state are lesser-known. Luce, born to Presbyterian Christian Missionaries and notably supported by another Presbyterian, Nancy McCormicks, had ties to the CIA's MockingBird project, which utilized media and journalists for covert operations. Luce provided cover for CIA operatives under TIME's auspices, and his involvement in significant CIA cover-ups is documented.



Despite the founder's proximity to the deep state, HLF is currently staffed with former US government officials, including a former Deputy Secretary of Defense. HLF collaborates closely with organizations such as AsiaFoundation, CFR, and CSIS.



What was the purpose of this funding? It was allocated as part of a project titled '*Muslims in a Time of Hindu Majoritarianism*', granting a substantial sum of \$385,000 to Jaffrelot for this endeavor. Such overtly biased subject matter would likely be deemed unacceptable for any other nation, yet it strangely passes muster when directed against India.

 HOME / GRANTS

# For the project, “Muslims in a Time of Hindu Majoritarianism.

US Sciences Po Foundation

AMOUNT \$385,000

AWARD DATE March 4, 2020

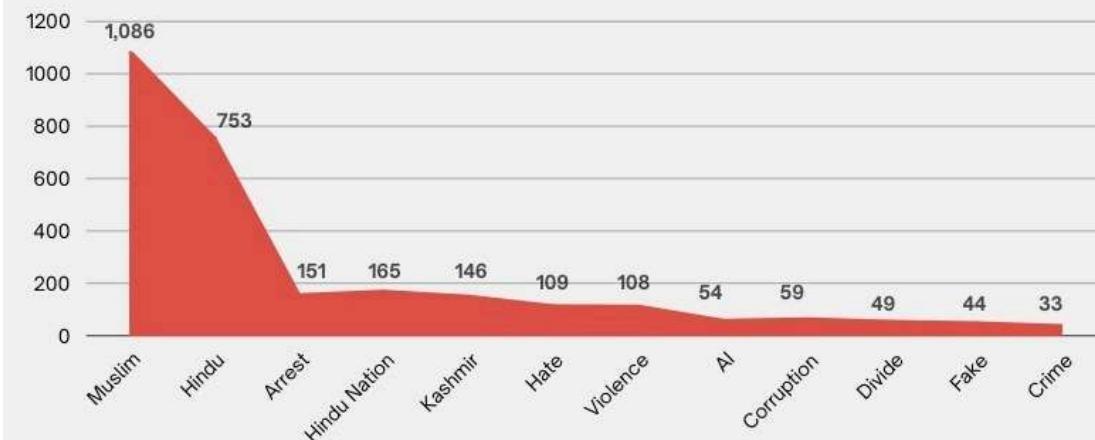
LOCATION New York, New York, United States, Mideast Region

PROGRAM Religion in International Affairs

WEBSITE <http://www.uscspo.org>

Remarkably, the entire narrative surrounding the elections seemed to align precisely with the narrative for which the HLF had pledged funding to the French expert as far back as 2020-21, spanning three years. Additionally, funding was extended to various media outlets.

The below diagram showcases the keyword analysis of certain keywords which were used in the international news media articles. It was observed that the word "Muslim" was used 1,086 times followed by "Hindu Nation" with 165 times, "Kashmir" with 146 times, "Hate" and "Violence" 109 and 108 times respectively.



While the editorial boards of HLF and Time Magazine are purportedly independent entities, there seems to be an enigmatic force at play, as Time's coverage of Indian Elections 2024 closely echoed HLF's motives for supporting figures like Jaffrelot. This narrative permeated throughout various channels, appearing ubiquitous.

**TIME**

A Modi Win Will Only Mean More Trouble for Indian Muslims

8 MINUTE READ



**TIME**

India Begins Third Phase of Elections, as Modi Escalates Rhetoric Against Muslims

5 MINUTE READ



**TIME**

Indian Opposition Leader Hemant Soren Arrested Months Before Elections

3 MINUTE READ



**TIME**

As India Votes, Modi's Party Misleads Online

3 MINUTE READ



**TIME**

Why India's Political Opposition Is So Weak

7 MINUTE READ



**TIME**

Exclusive: YouTube Approved Ads Promoting Disinformation on India's Election

8 MINUTE READ



The narrative extends further, HLF has distributed funds to various other organizations focused on 'research' concerning India, many of which received funding around 2020/21, spanning three years until 2024. These organizations, known for their anti-India stance, were tasked with similar agendas.

# Henry Luce Foundation Grants Beneficiaries

S. No.	Grantee	Year	Grants
1	South Asia Scholar Activist Collective (SASAC)	2023	\$5,000.00
2	Center For Race And Gender (UC Berkeley)	2021	\$370,000.00
3	Council on Foreign Relations	2021	\$125,000.00
4	Pulitzer Center	2021	\$100,000.00
5	Sciences Po U.S. Foundation	2020	\$385,000.00
6	Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	2020	\$120,000.00
7	Human Rights Watch	2020	\$300,000.00
8	Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs	2020	\$346,000.00
9	Council on Foreign Relations	2020	\$395,000.00
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$2,146,000.00</b>

 HENRY  
LUCE  
FOUNDATION | Source: [www.hluce.org/grants](http://www.hluce.org/grants)

 DisinfoLab  
[thesinfolab.org](http://thesinfolab.org)

For instance, Berkeley's Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs received a three-year grant of \$346,000 in 2021, culminating in the publication of a report in late 2023 titled "*The Hindu Right and India's Religious Diplomacy*."

**BERKLEY CENTER**  
*for Religion, Peace & World Affairs*

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*GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY*

## **\$346,000 Luce Grant to Fund the Transatlantic Policy Network on Religion and Diplomacy at Georgetown University**

WASHINGTON (January 27, 2021)—The Berkley Center has received a \$346,000 grant from the Henry Luce Foundation to fund the Transatlantic Policy Network on Religion and Diplomacy (TPNRD), which will migrate from Cambridge University to Georgetown University as one of Georgetown's ongoing programs. The three-year grant will help the TPNRD to expand its public engagement, capitalize on opportunities to forge new partnerships, and fine-tune its method of fostering transatlantic diplomatic collaboration and policy-relevant scholarship in the field of religion and international affairs.

Judd Birdsall, project director of the TPNRD, said, “The move of the TPNRD project to the Berkley Center, the leading research institute of its kind, presents an exciting new chapter for the network. The international reputation and significant organizational capacity of the center will enhance the project’s efforts to foster diplomatic collaboration and scholarship on religion and global affairs. I am deeply grateful to Georgetown for providing this new institutional base and to the Luce Foundation for their ongoing support.”

In January 2021 Birdsall joined the Berkley Center as he continues to provide leadership for the TPNRD.

Another recipient, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (CEIP), received \$120,000, producing articles on topics like “*Authoritarian repression, Hindu Nationalism, emerging Hindu Vote*,” among others.



## COMMENTARY

## Religion, Citizenship, and Belonging in India

As India commemorates the seventy-fifth anniversary of the country's independence from the British Raj, one question above all strikes at the heart of democracy's uncertain future: who belongs in today's India?



By Madhav Khosla and Milan Vaishnav

Published on June 2, 2022

## Original Article

### Religion-as-Ethnicity and the Emerging Hindu Vote in India

Neelanjan Sircar<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

Religious division formed the basis for the subcontinent's partition and has continued to be a major social cleavage in local relations. Yet remarkably religious parties have rarely been successful in India. This may be changing with an ascendant Bharatiya Janata Party mobilizing the Hindu vote. Accordingly, this article seeks to explicate the conditions under which successful religious parties may emerge. In order to do so, I conceive of electoral mobilization on religion as a form of ethnic mobilization, what I refer to as religion-as-ethnicity voting. I argue that religion-as-ethnicity voting emerges when the religious group meets certain spatial demographic criteria (density and pivotality) and when a governing party representing these interests can use state power to reify boundaries between religious groups. I use this framework to explain the emergence of the Hindu vote in the Indian state of Assam.

## Keywords

Campaigns and elections, ethnic conflict, Indian democracy, religion and politics, voting and elections

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## Original Article

## Original Article

### Representation and Legitimacy in the Supreme Court: Adjudicating Law and Religion in India

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Raeesa Vakil<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

This article presents the argument that the Supreme Court of India's jurisprudence on procedural bars to litigation is insufficient to address challenges that arise in cases involving religious rights. Examining the Court's views on standing (the right to litigate) in three key public interest decisions (the *Sabarimala Temple* case, the *Ram Janmabhoomi* case, and the *triple talaq* case), I argue that the Court has privileged a discretionary, ends-based reasoning over an approach based on principle and law, resulting in erratic and inconsistent outcomes. The result is an uncertain level of protection to minority rights in judicial processes.

## Keywords

India, constitution, law, religion, majoritarianism, Supreme Court

## Original Article

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## Original Article

### Hindu Nationalism: From Ethnic Identity to Authoritarian Repression

## Studies in Indian Politics

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Pratap Bhanu Mehta<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

This article reflects on the relationship between Hindu nationalism and democracy and how the former emerges from within democracy only to subvert it. The essay outlines important conceptual issues in the relationship between Hindu nationalism and democracy, discusses the relationship between the idea of a 'Hindu Rashtra' and 'Hindu Raja', and delves into the complex interplay between Hindu nationalism and caste. This article ultimately argues that Hindu nationalism's alignment with authoritarianism in a political style does not simply corrode democracy, but it also undermines all values. The objective of this analysis is not to provide a comprehensive explanation of the rise of Hindu nationalism, as much as to reflect on the ways in which its ideology operates at multiple levels.

## Keyword

India, Hindu nationalism, BJP, secularism, democracy, authoritarianism

## Original Article

### Reinventing the Republic: Faith and Citizenship in India<sup>2</sup>

## Studies in Indian Politics

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Niraja Gopal Jayal<sup>1</sup>

## Abstract

In India, a new legal regime and political ecosystem has been enacted for India's Muslim minority that effectively undermines the constitutional commitment to secularism. This article examines the legal, political, social, moral, and international implications of an assemblage of law and policy—namely, the Citizenship Amendment Act 2019, as well as two other initiatives, the National Register of Citizens and the National Population Register—that cumulatively animates an ambitious project to reinvent the nature of the Indian republic, from a pluralist, multi-ethnic and multi-religious civic community to a political community marked by ethno-religious majoritarianism.

## Keywords

Citizenship, Citizenship Amendment Act, National Register of Citizens, minorities, religion

This isn't the first time CEIP received funding from HLF; in November 2018, they received \$40,000 for a project on "Religious Populism and the Future of Indian Democracy," coinciding with the publication of "*The BJP in Power: Indian Democracy and Religious Nationalism*" just prior to the 2019 elections. Human Rights Watch (HRW) was allocated \$300,000 from HLF to "document religious violence in Asia," with a focus on countries like India, Myanmar, and Indonesia, as indicated by the HRW URL.

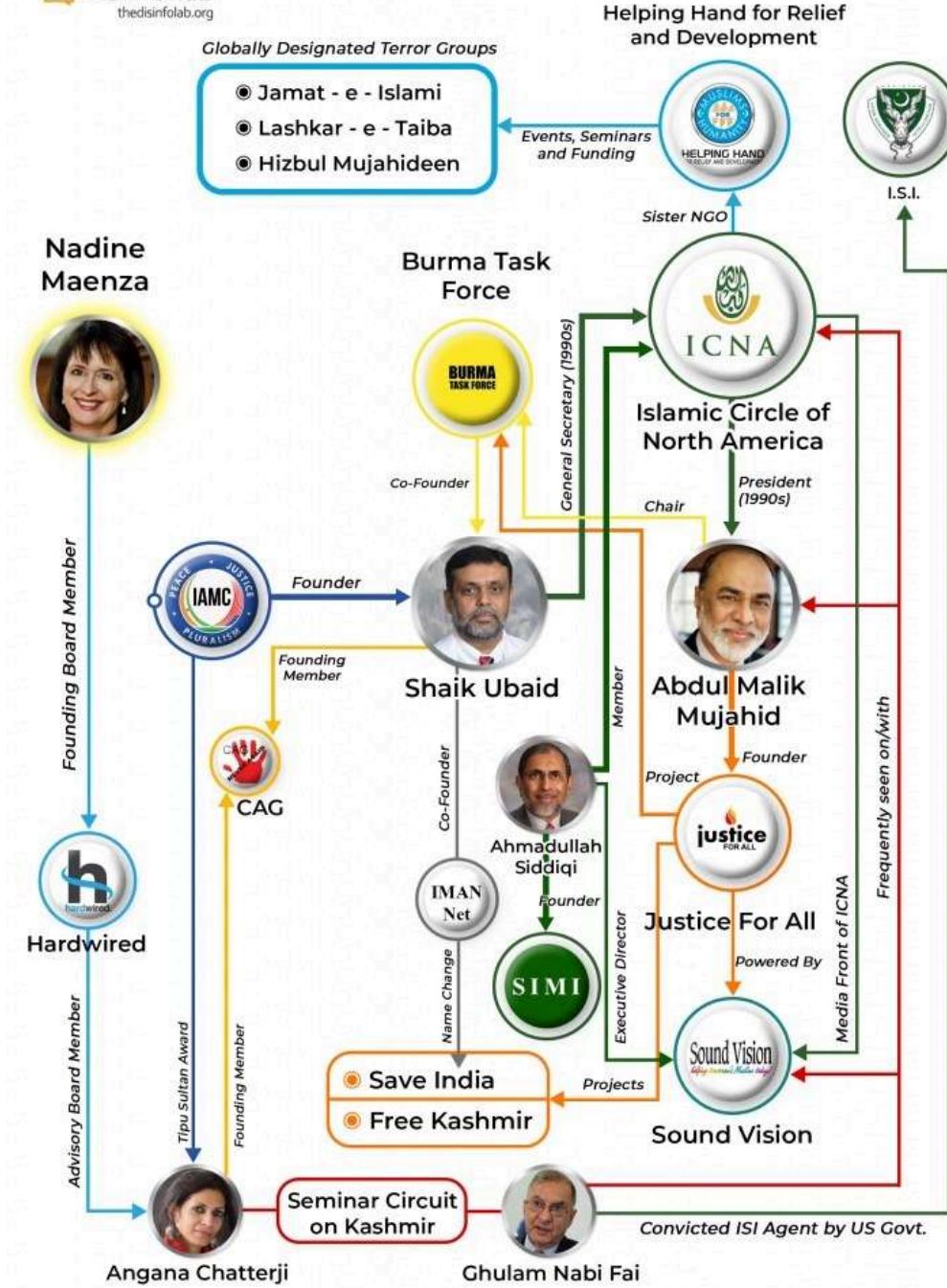


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## Renewed support for research about and documentation of religious intolerance and violence in three countries in Asia.

Human Rights Watch

The story gets even more interesting. HLF has given funds to fronts with known affiliations with radical Islamists and even Pak-ISI that were exposed repeatedly for their anti-India propaganda – the likes of Angana Chatterjee, famous for association with convicted ISI mole Ghulam Nabi Fai



One of her organizations, PCRes-CRG, received a substantial sum of \$370,000 in April 2021 to investigate “*fault-lines between citizenship, religion, and belonging*” in South Asia. Notably, Jaffrelot collaborates with Angana on PCRes-acbcd.

## Core Group:



**Leti Volpp**  
Director, Center for Race & Gender

- Hosted event on "India Elections 2024: Hindu Nationalism, Ayodhya, and Dispossession"



**Hatem Bazian**  
Director, Islamophobia Research & Documentation Project

- Founder of Students for Justice in Palestine
- Co-founder of American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)
- Member of Russell Tribunal on Kashmir.



**Angana P. Chatterji**  
Chair, Political Conflict, Gender, & People's Rights Initiative

- Close aide of convicted ISI mole Ghulam Nabi Fai
- Part of Kashmir syllabus of Stand with Kashmir
- Co-founder of the "International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir" with Parvez Imroz in 2008.



**Ariana Ceja**  
Associate Director, Center for Race & Gender

- Event Co-ordinator of "India Elections 2024: Hindu Nationalism, Ayodhya, and Dispossession"

## PCRes Scholars:



**Haley Duschinski**

- Testimony against India in the United States Congress' Tom Lantos Human Rights Commission.



**Parvez Imroz**

- Co-founder of the "International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Indian-administered Kashmir" with Angana Chatterji in 2008.
- Founder and President of the Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Society (JKCCS).



**Christophe Jaffrelot**

- Head of the Project "MUSLIMS IN INDIA" funded by Henry Luce Foundation.
- Chairperson of Trivedi Centre for Political Data.
- Research Director at CERI-SciencesPo/CNRS.



**Khurram Parvez**

- Program coordinator of Jammu and Kashmir Coalition of Civil Societies (JKCCS) and chairperson of Philippines-based NGO AFAD.
- Arrested by NIA in NGO terror-funding case.

## PCRes Affiliates:



**Pei-hsuan Wu**

- She has worked with and assisted Angana Chatterji on Kashmir Project.
- Research and Communications Assistant with the International People's Tribunal on Human Rights and Justice in Kashmir from 2008-2012.



**Raqib Hameed Naik**

- Current owner of Hindutva Watch.
- Former International correspondent with The Globe Post.
- Pulitzer Center grantee.
- Ex-News Director of TwoCircles.net

PCRes has been actively hosting events since October 2023, focusing on topics like Caste line, Islamophobia, Hindu Nationalism, Indian elections 2024, and Manipur (in partnership with Niang Hangzo, Co-Founder of NAMTA), coinciding with the lead-up to the 2024 elections.

## Political Conflict, Gender and People's Rights Initiative



Angana P. Chatterji



Paola Bacchetta



Zuleikha Chaudhari



Mihir Desai



Haley Duschinski



Parvez Imroz



Christophe Jaffrelot



Khurram Parvez\*



Yashica Dutt



Niha Masih



Pei-hsuan Wu



Raqib Hameed Naik

Audrey Truschke, who established the South Asia Scholar Activist Collective (SASAC) in July 2021, also received funding from HLF in May 2023 and published a "Reporting Guide on Hindu Nationalism," citing the discredited Pakistani project, "*Hindutva Watch*".

# South Asia Scholar Activist Collective (SASAC)

## Board Members:



**Audrey Truschke**  
Rutgers University

Member of American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS)  
AIPS 2012-13 Fellow to Pakistan.  
Member of Board of Advisors of Students Against  
Hindutva Ideology (SAHI)



**Manan Ahmed**  
Columbia University

Mentor of Audrey Truschke.  
Trustee of American Institute of Pakistan Studies (AIPS)  
Member of the Project "MUSLIMS IN INDIA" funded by  
Henry Luce Foundation.



**Dheepa Sundaram**  
University of Denver

2023 Luce-AAR Advancing Public Scholarship Grant  
Headed "Hindutva-Explained" Project from the grant.



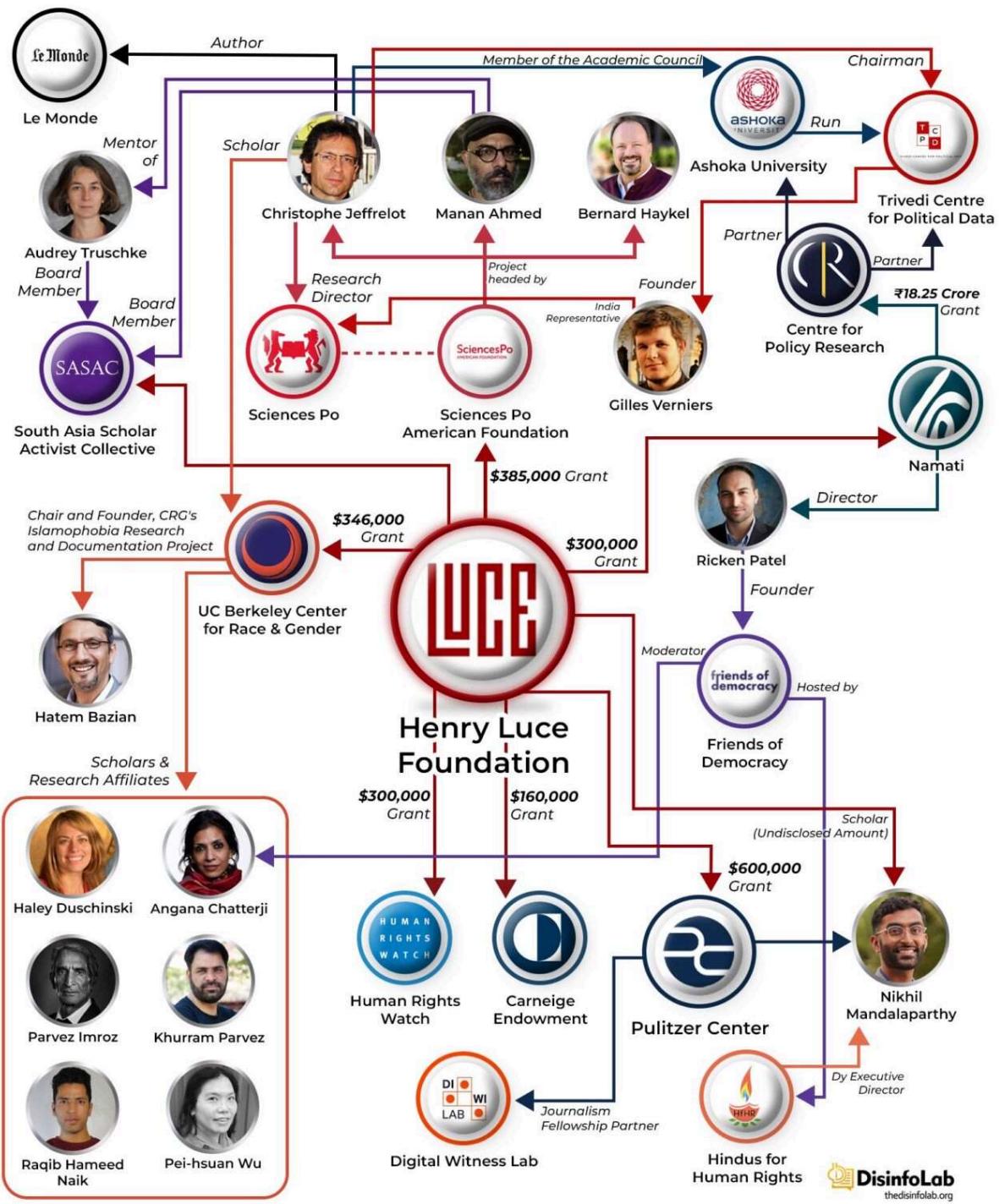
**IndiaExplained**  
@IndiaExplained

...

Delighted to share that the South Asia Scholar Activist Collective (SASAC), to which I am honored to belong, has just been awarded this grant by the American Academy of Religion and Henry Luce Foundation

11:12 PM · May 11, 2023 · 1,701 Views

In summary, HLF, known for its ties to the deep state, has invested millions of dollars in organizations with overtly anti-India biases, strategically timed to coincide with the Indian election cycle. Unlike the Russia Hoax against Donald Trump, this constitutes election interference by the book.



Entering Soros! Intriguingly, the organizations and individuals funded by HLF largely overlap with those supported by the Soros network. Notably, NAMATI, founded by Canadian Ricken Patel, received \$300,000 from HLF in 2022 and \$13,859,970 from OSF between 2016 and 2022.

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# To support grassroots policy development activities related to democracy, ethics, and public trust.

Namati

**AMOUNT** \$300,000

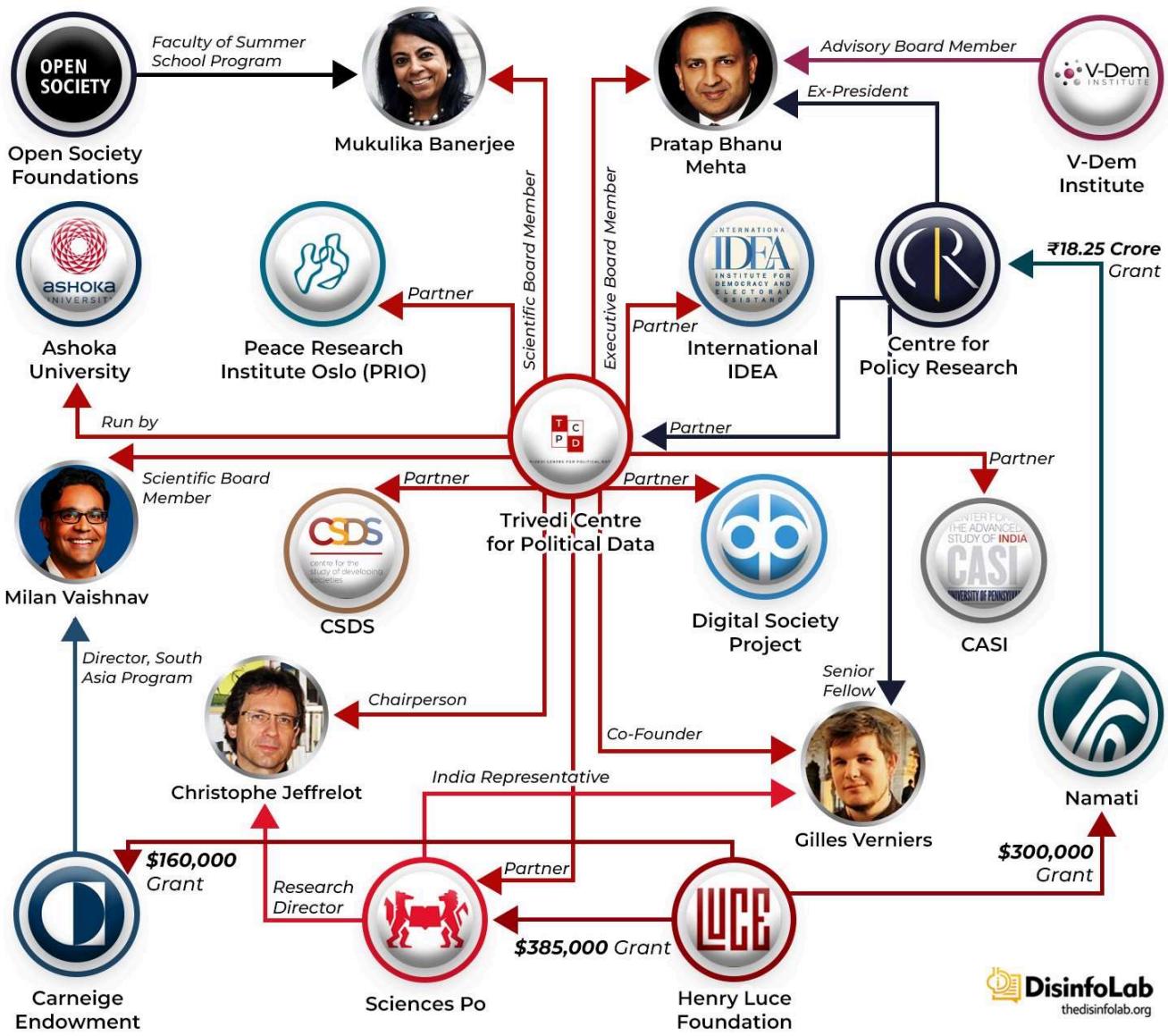
**AWARD DATE** March 10, 2022

**LOCATION** Washington, District of Columbia, United States, Mideast Region

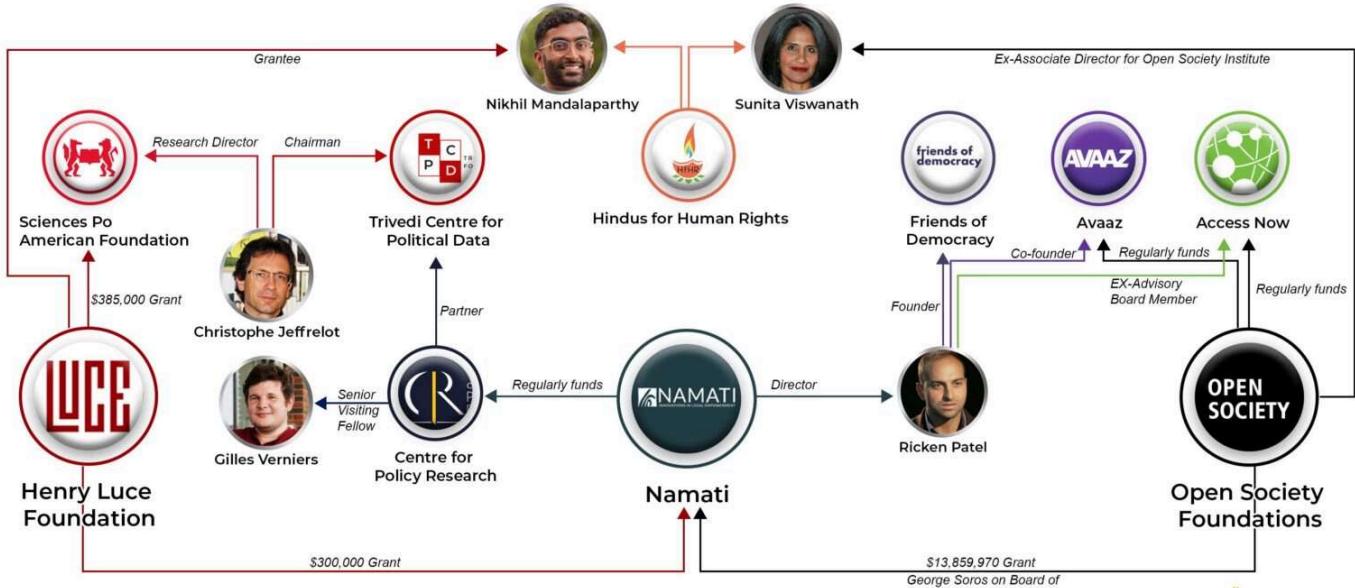
**PROGRAM** Democracy, Ethics, and Public Trust

**WEBSITE** <https://namati.org/>

Namati redirects its focus towards TCPD, receiving financial backing from Luce/Soros, which subsequently funneled funds to the Centre for Policy Research (CPR), a collaborative organization with TCPD, amounting to at least Rs 12 crore. Jaffrelot was hosted by TCPD. However, funding issues arose, leading to the Indian Income Tax Department revoking CPR's FCRA.



Patel, known for his serial activism, previously established AVAAZ, Republica, and Moveon, and served on Access Now's advisory board—all entities supported by the Open Society Foundations (OSF). In March 2023, Ricken Patel of NAMATI assumed leadership of 'Friends of Democracy,' advocating against the ruling party to protect India. Coincidentally, another entity, Friends of Democracy PAC, was co-founded by Jonathan Soros, son of George Soros.



How does 'Friends of Democracy' contribute to India's salvation? By disseminating propaganda against India's procurement of Russian oil. If there's any uncertainty about the narrative, Patel has provided clarity on the matter.

## FRIENDS OF DEMOCRACY

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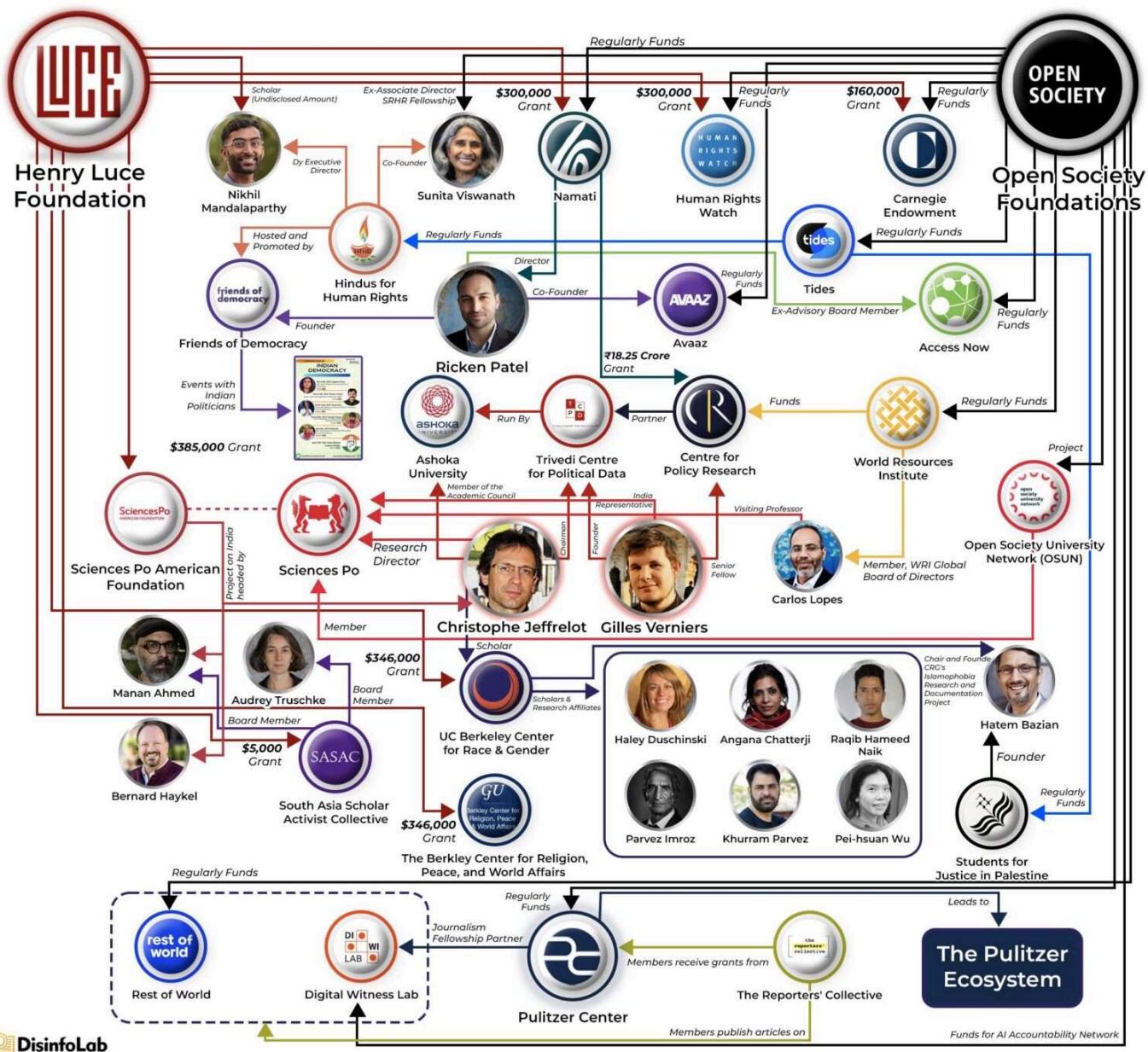


respublicaus• Sep 5, 2023 • 2 min read

# India spent \$61.2 billion on Russian fossil fuels since the start of the Ukraine war

India spent more on Russian fossil fuels since Ukraine invasion than US, UK, Germany and France have given in military aid, new analysis shows

Their strategy involves propagandizing against India's purchase of Russian oil. While the extent of influence wielded by these narratives, promoted by partly discredited activists and scholars, on Indian voters remains speculative, their infiltration into societal divides is undeniable.



Even more alarming is the enduring impact—‘scholars’ such as Audrey and Jaffrelots mutually validate each other, establishing an extensive reference network that will likely shape the narrative on India for the foreseeable future. For instance, Wikipedia. These narratives will subsequently feed into AI models, further perpetuating the tarnished portrayal of India’s history, anchored in the work of discredited scholars, and perpetuated endlessly in printed materials.

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Christophe Jaffrelot

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(This article is based on the X threads by [DisInfo Lab](#) & their [research report](#))

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